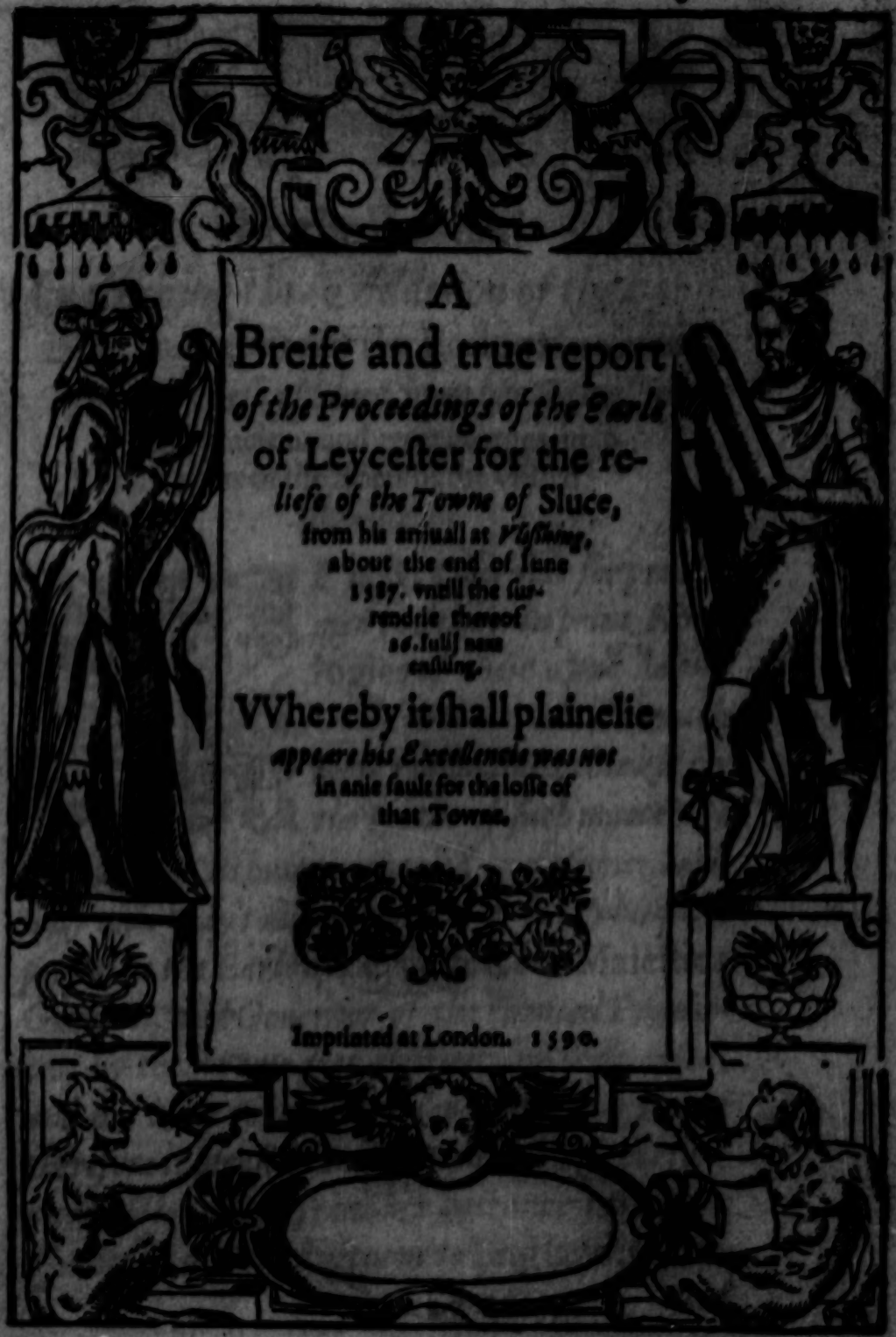

A Breife and true report of the Proceedings of the Earle of Leycester for the reliefe of the Towne of Sluce,

from his arriuall at Vlissing, about the end of Iune 1587. vntill the surrendrie thereof 26. Iulij next ensuing.

Whereby it shall plainelie appeare his Excellencie was not in anie fault for the losse of that Towne.

Imprinted at London. 1590.

To the Reader

Concerning this Addition of the hono- rable endeuours of the Earle of Leyceſter, *for the reliefe of Sluce, vpon her Maieſties* moſt gracious and great charges, in fa-uour of the States of the vnited Prouinces.

IF it bee tollerable for priuate men to deliuer in print, Apologies *of their owne doings while they are aliue: mutch more reaſonable I think it for the trothe of ſuch matters to be publiſhed, as being concealed or miſconceaued, may anie way touch the honor of ſo Publique a perſon as the Earle of* Leyceſter, *her* Maieſties *Generall, and Gouernor of the vnited Prouinces, by their owne free election, now deceaſed, and not aliue to anſwere for himſelfe. Seeing therefore it pleaſed* God *ſo well to bleſſe his former Actions euen from his entrance into that Countrie til his firſt returne to* England, *that he*

had cleered both the Vellow and Bettowe (two rich, pleasant, and most fertile countries) of al Enemies, razed and defaced al their Sconces and Castles, or left thē possessed with souldiers of our own, and so greatlie enlarged the Territories & contribucions of the States, besides the taking in and assuring of Deuxburgh and Deuenter: therby also diuerting or remouing the great siedge from Berke in Ghelderland, besides the winning of Axell in Flaunders, without the loosing of any one Towne, Sconce, or Castle, either commāded by the English, or wherin any one English band was garrysoned, til after his Excellencies departure: some priuate pikes and particular ambitious grudges (grown betweeu Stanley, Yorke and others in those prouinces,) caused these bad persons for their particular passions (in the absence of his Excellencie) so much to forget their dueties, as traiterously to deliuer into the Enemies hands that Towne and Sconce, by Zutphen. God hauing I say so exceedinglie alwaies prospered his Excellencie during his abode there, to the great honour and renowne of her Maiestie, as his most malicious Enemies had cause rather to enuie his Fortune, than backbite his Gouern-

ment;

ment; & *no one* Town, Forte, Caſtle *or* Sconce *loſt, or foyle receaued any way by our nation vnder him, till the loſſe of* Sluyce; *that being the onely thing wherein either his diſpiteful Enemies, or ingrate friends or followers (ſtrangers or Engliſh) can finde any coullor to calumniate his militare actions. Finding yet in my hands a briefe and true relation of his* Excellencies *honorable endeuours vpon her* Maieſties *gratious great and extraordinarie charges to relieue that Towne (by me euen at that time committed to writing, when theſe matters were in Action, and my ſelf preſent both at the* Conſultations *and* Executions:) *I haue thought it my duetie likewiſe herewith to Print and publiſh the ſame, that neither the Honourable* Patron *of this Treatiſe now dead, by iniurious imputations be vniuſtlie wronged, nor for ignorance of the trueth the world ſeduced, to thinke the* Swanne *a* Crowe, *or the* Dawe *an* Eagle. *But conceiuing matters (as they are in deede) guided by Gods prouidence, we may learne in all things to giue him all glorie, and modeſtly acknowledging truly our own priuate Errors and infirmities, to endeuour hereafter to amend them.*

¶ A true report of his Excellencies *carefull proceedings, for the reliefe of* Sluce, as it was briefelie ſet downe while the matter was in action.

HIS Excellencie arriuing at *Vliſſhing* toward the ende of Iune, bringing with him about 30. Enſignes of newe leuied Engliſhe ſouldiers, found the Town of *Sluce* beſeiged by the Duke of *Parma*: his chiefe forces remayning in the Ile of *Caſſand*, where himſelfe was for the moſt part in perſon: the reſt in St *Anns* Land vnder the commaundement of *La Mote*, ſaluе that his horſe-men, with ſome bands of foote, were diſperſed vpon the Coaſt, and vpon Straites, for gard of Dikes and paſſages in ſundrie places.

Theſe forces of the Duke of *Parma*, were lodged in ſuch a ſort, that there was no acceſſe vnto them, but vpon narrowe banks: the which were in manie places retrenched and cut off in ſuch ſort, as (in reſpect of the aduantage of the ſcituation) they were wel able to haue anſwered, treble their forces that ſhould by land haue inuaded them.

By ſea they had alſo by Piles, Shippes and boates in ſhew croſſed the hauen, and planted certaine platformes of Ordinance, to beat ſuch ſhips as ſhould attempt to enter to ſuccour the Towne.

Neuer-

Neuertheleſſe, in the iudgement of the beſt Militarie men, this was founde the onely waie to relieue the Towne, and to that end preparation made of ſhippes of war to enter, & one or two ſhipes eſpecially of purpoſe framed with fire workes very artificially, to haue broken any Bridge and opened a paſſage, although it had bene much more forcibly cloſed than indeed that was.

True it is that the Admirall *Naſſau* and his ſea captaines made the matter verie dangerous, and required that the forces by land might be alſo attempted at the ſame time: and at the firſt it was by his *Excellencie* ment that the *Camp* ſhould haue bene aſſailed 3. waies. viz, from *Iſendick* Sconce towards *Coxey*, on *Caſſand*, & frō *Oſtend*. But vpon more deliberate conſideration of the ſcituation of theſe places: it was found, that after wee ſhould haue ſurprized the Sconce of *Iſendick* there was no poſsibility to martch towards *Sluce*, or towards the Enemies Camp, but vpon ſtraight Dikes, with ſundrie abrupt paſſages by them fortified in ſuch ſort: that a verie fewe might haue made head on that ſide to anie great Armie, and not to be paſſed without great ſlaughter of our people: and long time before we could approche to anie blowes with the Enemie. On the other ſide of *Caſsand* the coaſt ſo flat and farre out into the Sea, as there was no landing, but as men muſt wade a great diſtance in the water, ſubiect to all the ſhot of the Enemie that might lye couered vnder the marſh banks, and then no way to approch the Camp, but vpon fortified ſtraights as before. It was therefore concluded, that the onely way to approch the Campe by land, was, from *Oſtend*, where his *Excellencie* might in ſafetie land his forces, & ſo march to ſeeke the Enemie on firme ground in militarie order not confuſedly

with

with ſo great diſaduantage as on the other parts. In the meane time diuers *Burgers* of *Vliſſhing* (that miſtruſted the coldneſſe of the *Admiraltie* and *States*) made offer to his Excellencie, that if they might haue ſhipping they would vndertake to enter the Hauen: and put into the Town both men and munition without attending any attempt to bee made vpon the Enemie by land, which they ſawe to be a matter of great hazard & not poſsible in reaſon to take anie effect, the ſtrong ſcituation of the Enemies Campe conſidered.

The reaſons that mooued them to doubt the coldeneſſe of the *Admiraltie* were theſe. They knew them to bee perſons whollie at the deuotion of the *States*: howe ſmall care the *States* tooke of *Sluce*, *Oſtend*, or anie other Townes in *Flaunders* was they ſay apparant long before, when their ſouldiers by their Euill pay & prouiſions, were manie times reduced to ſuch extremities, as it was greatlie doubted that neceſſitie ſhoulde conſtraine them to deliuer vp the townes to the Enemie. And the yeare 1586. when his Excellencie was mooued to haue imployed his forces into *Flaunders*, (where no doubt he might haue wonne immortall honour, and reduced againe the moſt part of that Country to the vnited prouinces) the *States* generally euer diſliked of anie Enterprize that way: and perſwaded his *Excellencie* wholly to that other courſe of *Ghelderland*, *Ouer Yſell. &c.*

The reaſons that mooued the *States* thereto, ſome ſuppoſe were theſe.

Firſt, if *Flaunders* ſhould bee regained, then a great number of wealthie men (that were nowe in *Holland* ſetled) would returne thither, and ſo impouerish greatlie the wealth of *Holland*; and the *States* of *Holland* car-

rieng now the whole or chiefe ſwaye, would none of that.

Another reaſon was, that they found thoſe garriſons of *Sluce*, *Axell*, *Oſtend*, &c. to exhauſt much of the *Holland* contributions, and not to yeelde any commoditie againe.

But the third and moſt forcible of all, was, that they had as it was thought conceaued a certain iealouſie that *Flaunders* lying ſo neere *England*, her Maieſtie might ſeaze to her owne vſe all ſuch Ports, Townes, and places of ſtrength as ſhould bee gayned there, and hauing conuenient Ports ſo neere her Realme for conuenient receipt and ſuccour of her Shipping, ſhould by that meanes be able to rule them, and not be ruled by them. Theſe iealouſies and conceipts are ſuppoſed to bee the cauſes that haue made the Eſtates ſo colde and backward in the relieuing this Towne of *Sluce*, albeit the common people in many places, ſpeake more broadly, and ſay plainely that the States from time to time haue victualled the enemie, making to them of *Holland*, thereby an infinite gayne, and that the enemie had good aſſurance from ſome of them before his Siedge of *Sluce*, that hee ſhould not bee impeached by them.

Theſe inſolent ſpeeches of the people were repreſſed by a ſharp penall edict of the States made and proclaymed at Middleburgh, immediatly after the loſſe of Sluce.

Whereunto they ad many ſhrewde *Preſumptions*: *Firſt*, that the Enemie was continuallie victualled by their ſufferance and *Licences*: *Secondly*, that euen a little before *Sluce* was beſiedged, the States ſent for certaine of the beſt bands out of the Towne, which the Gouernour would not conſent vnto: *Thirdly*, that certaine Shippes were of purpoſe run a groũd before *Sluce* in ſuch ſort as the enemies horſemen might take them: without which it was not poſsible to haue made any ſhewe of ſtopping vp the channell. Laſt of all their

ſtrange

ſtrange backwardneſſe in giuing aide anie way by men or munition, when Captaine *Hart* and others of *Vliſſhing* offered them to enter before his *Excellencies* arriuall. So that if Sir *William Ruſſell* Lord Gouernour of *Vliſſhing*, had not verie prouidentlie & earneſtly trauailed to ſend in ſuch prouiſions as vpon the ſodaine hee prouided: the Towne had beene much more deſtitute of all meanes to hold out than it was.

But albeit I am not carried ſo farre as to beleeue all the people ſpeake (though *vox populi* be manie times for truth termed *vox Dei*: eſpeciallie when it is grounded vpon long triall and experience:) yet that by fruits the tree may be diſcerned, and ſo a right eſtimate made of theſe coniectures; I will report as neere as I can the certaine truth how matters haue paſſed, & what aſsiſtance his *Excellencie* hath receiued from the *States* for this important enterprize for the releiſe of *Sluce*.

Firſt his *Excellencie* vpon his arriuall, finding in his abſence ſtrange effects wrought by bad practizes of his Enemies, who (perhaps aſpiring to aduaunce themſelues, or to blemiſh his Honour) did in the meane time foſter the ſeedes of moſt ſeditious diſcord, tending to the Ruyne of theſe Prouinces, and great hinderance of hir *Maieſties* ſeruice here: His *Excellencie* (I ſay) found it verie conuenient, firſt to do all his beſt endeuours to reduce this infected bodie to health: And to effect the ſame, forgiuing all iniuries doone to himſelfe, laboring nothing but the ſafetie of theſe Prouinces committed to his charge; immediatly vpon his lāding wrote for an aſſemblie of the *States* at *Middleburgh*: where after he had too long time (in reſpect of his vrgēt affaires) attended them in vaine, he went in perſō to *Berghen vp zome*, and after to *Dort*, to effect onely his firſt purpoſe: to recure all ſeditious wounds, and to drawe all in one line

to the reliefe of this beſeiged Towne: Not omitting in the meane time to beſtowe in ſeuerall Garriſons his newe leuied vnarmed Souldiers, with order for their ſpeedie arming; and in ſteede of them calling togeather from Garriſons farre and wide diſperſed, foure thowſand or there abouts of the old bandes in her *Maieſties* pay, and ſuch as being armed & furniſhed were before the fifteenth of Iulie in caſe to be employed in ſeruice. In the meane time his *Excellencie* beeing deſirous to knowe what aſsiſtance he might expect from the *States* of the Countrie Forces, a booke was deliuered to the L. *Marſhall*, of twentie foure thowſand ſouldiers in their pay, beſides two thowſand horſe or thereabouts, and beſides hir *Maieſties* aydes. Of all theſe their Forces for ſo important a ſeruice, if they would onlie haue deliuerd foure thowſand ſouldiers, his *Excellencie* was determined with them and the reſt of his Engliſh bands without regard of any perrill to haue aſſalted the Campe. But notwithſtanding the importunate ſolicitations of his *Excellencie*, & preſsing alſo of his auctoritie (albeit *Count Hollock* had at that time as it is ſaide ſix thowſand men in *Brabant* in Armes) before the loſſe of the Towne, he was neuer able to get from them any one band of theirs: and with great difficultie could obtaine to haue the Engliſh which were with him.

True it is, that the *Burgers* of *Middlebrough* and *Vliſſhing* did verie willingly offer their aſsiſtance; but they were but fewe: and that was doone vtterlie without aide or aſsiſtance of the *States*.

With theſe ſmale forces of thirtie Engliſh Enſignes, with foure Cornets of horſe; his *Excellencie* ſent Sir *William Pelham* the *L. Marſhall* accompanied with the Lord *Willoughby*, *Sir William Ruſſell*, and manie other perſons of Honor and account, into *Flaunders*: hauing beſides

beſides ſome few Companies of this Country, that he had raiſed vpon hir *Maieſties* charge; & that volũtarily from *Middleburgh* and *Vliſhing*, offered themſelues for the guard of his perſon, part whereof were alſo left to accompanie *Collo: Morgan*, who was by his *Excellencie* appoynted to ioyne with the *Admirall Naſſau* to enter the Hauen.

In the meane time, the L. *Marſhall* thus accompanied the twenty of Iuly arriued at *Oſtend*: and being readie the xxij. to haue marched; his *Excellencie* arriued there, and reſting the xxiij which was Sonday, the foure and twentie day in the morning, we marched towards the Enemie; his *Excellencie* being the ſame night returned toward the Fleete, which lay in readines at the mouth of the Harbor, to take the aduantage of the ſpring tides; and to haue entred the Hauen: aſwell to haue deuided the Forces, wherewith they of *Caſſand* ſhould haue ſuccored them of *Saint Anns* Land when wee ſhould charge them, as alſo to put in men and Munition into the Towue.

This 23. day in Oſtend his Excellencie was like to haue beene ſlaine with a bullet that ſtrake into a lawme of his windowe right before him, and the Lord Wentworth with the ſplinters thereof hurt in the face.

With this ſmall Armie of 30. or 32. Enſignes of Foote, and foure Cornets of horſe, we marched on the plaine ſands of *Flaunders*, 10 or 12. miles towards *Sluce* Towne, and reſted not till wee came to *Blankenburgh Sluce* where wee found a ſtrong Sconce made to ſtop vp the paſſage: guarded with fiue or ſixe Enſignes of *Wallons*. The Sconce reached from the Marſhes down to the Sea, and cloſed vp the paſſage in ſuch ſort that without taking in of that Sconce; there was no paſſage for our Armie to ſet on their Campe, but only at very dead lowe water, and that with many difficulties & extreame diſcommodities too long to be particularly ſet downe. Neuertheleſſe it was reſolued by the Lord Marſhall, and the Militarie councel that with-

out farther delay an attempt ſhould bee made to hewe downe the *Pallizado* and by ſcale to enter: and if that tooke not effect, then in the Euening at dead lowe water without farder delay to march by it. And albeit the Armie came wearie to that place about noone, yet was it reſolued the aſſault ſhould bee giuen before foure of the clock. In the meane time the Fort was viewed round by ſundrie perſons of iudgement, and 30. or 40. ſlaine and hurt in the approaches and view therof with the ſhot both great and ſmall, that played continuallie out of the Fort among vs.

In the meane time the *Duke* of *Parma*, being aduertiſed how nere our Armie was come to his Camp, and our Reſolution perceaued by our diſcoueries and nere approaches, the Prince roſe as we were enformed after with a choice Regiment to ſtay vs there, which in deed he might ful eaſelie haue done to an Armie fiue times as great as ours was, the ſcituation of the fort conſidered. But his *Excellencie* being in the meane time by contrarietie of winde ſtayed, could not reach the *Floate* but lay before *Blankenburgh Sluce*, & beholding the ſtrength of the place, and the impoſsibilitie for vs to paſſe or to get ſo ſtrong a plat in any conuenient time to relieue the ſiedged Towne, ſent Sir *Harry Goodyere* a land vnto vs with cõmandement immediatlie without loſſe of time to returne to *Oſtend*, there to Imbarque the Armie againe, and ſpeedely to returne to the *Floate* before the beſt ſpring tides ſhould paſſe to enter the Hauen, & alſo to land our Army there vpon them, with reſolution to put it to any fortune, rather than to looſe that Towne.

This day the Duke of Parma ſeeing the returne of our Armie yeelded to any condition of honorable parting, that our beſiedged could demand. One lie denying them anie delay, or libertie to aduertiſe the Earle of Leyceſter, being this day with his Armie within one League of their Camp before the Hauen mouth, and readie at the higheſt ſpring to enter.

The 25. at night we imbarked againe at *Oſtend*, and

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the 26. being *Wedneſday* being arriued at the Float, we found his *Excellencie* in conſultation with *Count Maurice*, the *Admirall*, and the reſt of the Sea Captaines for entring the Hauen: who alledging many difficulties and perrils, deliuering many reaſons (ſuch as they were) why they entred not the Hauen according to agreement: At that time his *Excellencie* plainelie and openly charged both *Count Maurice* and his brother *Naſſau*, that when the *Burgers* of *Vliſshing* made him the offer long before to haue performed it: that they anſwered, they had the beſt Pilots, Captaines and ſhipping readie in their handes, and could and would performe it themſelues, which they could not well deme: & yet would not plainly confeſſe, but that it was with certaine conditions, Crauing that his *Excellencie* would firſt appoynt ſome with thē to view the Hauen. In the meane time by theſe their former dalliances: the Towne being before growne deſperate of ſuccour, the verie ſame day while theſe thinges were thus in debating, Sir *Roger Williams* (not knowing vpon what reſolution we were called back from *Blankenburgh*, entred into *Parley*, and the Duke denying no demaunds they could ſet downe of Honorable parting) onelie denying them anie time of reſpite to aduertize his *Excellencie*, becauſe he knewe they might and of likelihood feared they ſhould haue bene ſuccoured by ſea before the beſt ſpring tides were paſt. The cōmaunders of the Towne being of like out of hope of anie ayde by ſea,) aſwell in reſpect of the ſmall comfort, retourned from the *States* by Captaine *Hart*, as alſo by the ſtrange newes and aduertiſements they receaued continually as they ſay frō their Enemies, being greatlie diſtreſſed by their vnhappie loſſe of the weſt Dike. And ſeeing how hard a matter, it ſhould be with far greater Forces than ours

The Enemie very politiquelie made the Commanders in Sluce, beleeue our Armie was fled at midnight from Blankenburgh, whereas wee marched a way in the day before ſunneſet, in order of Battaile, and no charge or attempt made by any one horſe or foote vpon our rereward, nor ſhot diſcharged after vs, but onelie out of the Sconce.

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in any ſhort time to defeat the Camp, being ſo ſtrongly lodged, hauing moſt honorable conditions of Surrendrie yeelded vnto by the *Duke* of *Parma*, they concluded, and the ſame day after our Armie arriued at the Floate, whilſt his Excellencie was in conſultation for entrie of the Hauen, (*viz.*) on the 26. day of Iulie. 1587 they ſent away Maſter *Sentliger* to his Excellencie with notice of their ſurrendrie alreadie made: and this is the plaine and naked trueth of this action.

This ſurrendry was made two or three dayes before the ſpring tides were paſt, and the day before the higheſt ſpring was come.

I may not omit, that, albeit his Excellencie was furniſhed out of *England* with Pouder, Munition, and Money: So as there was nothing then frō the States required but for Money, to haue victualls and boates and Skiffes to land our Armie, and Carriages to conuey, Munition, Victuals, &c. For boates and Skiffes to land our men, on thoſe flat Coaſts we had not ſufficient to diſbarke our little Armie in one whole day. And for Waggons his Excellencie could not get inough to carrie two daies victualls with vs to *Blankenburgh*, and yet diuers chiefe perſons and officers of our ſmall Armie for want of Carriage forced to leaue their Tents behinde them: So that for this Action I knowe not what the States could doe more to make the world beleeue the common voyce of the people (for their correſpondence with the Enemie; or ſmal care for the loſſe of any Towne in *Flaunders*) to bee to true: neither can I imagine what was poſſible for any Generall (either for trauell of his owne bodie both by Land and Sea, or for contempt of all perrill to his owne perſon, or by carefull *Prouidence*, and ſingular *Patience* being ſo ingratefully & maliciouſlie croſſed, to do more than his *Excellencie* hath done: whatſoeuer common opinion (led onelie with bare euents) may conceaue of it.

Another Addition concerning certain chiefe Officers of an Armie. Wherein by conference of the repugnant conditions in the *Good* and *Bad*, both the Officers themselues may the better knowe and indeauour to performe their duties: and all others also thereby discerning cleerelie of what *Ranke* they bee, may yeelde them *Honour* or *Reproofe*, according to their merites.

HAuing both by reading, conference & experience found before I bare office in her Maiesties *Armie commaunded by that right honorable* Earle *of* Leycester *in the* Low Countreyes, *how manie dangerous Inconueniences ensue, where true militare Discipline is either contempned, neglected or vnknowen, as I had more than 10. yeares since published this* Militare Treatize *concerning the duties & Offices of most degrees euen from the priuat souldier to the Generall; so did I also during that my imployment, labour to my vtmost power to haue such good Lawes and Ordinances established, as might aduance the honour and seruice of* God, *our sacred* Queene *and* Countrey. *But as a bodie possessed with a pestilent feuer, dooth manie times abhorre not onely the curing medicine, but also the best and most wholsome meate, and affect the worst & most pernitious: so found I all these good Lawes and Ordinances then established, so odious & intollerable vnto some such men of warre as had been bred vp in those licentious ciuill Dissentions, that they not onely detested those good Ordinances, but also mortally or rather immortally hated such Officers, as (according to their dutie) tooke care to see them duely and indifferently put in execution; labouring also to make them odious euen to the common souldiers and whole bodie of the Armie, (who were indeed*

their beſt friends and the onely meanes to relieue them in their wrongs and vniuſt oppreſſions. But becauſe I knowe thoſe Lawes and Ordinances then eſtabliſhed by the Earle, to bee ſuch as agree with all right Martiall Diſcipline and cannot be oppugned or diſliked by anie, but ſuch as deſerue rather to be corrected for their faults, than tollerated in their inſolent lawleſſe preſumptions: I haue not doubted to commit them to publique iudgement, as matters worthie to remain for Precedents to poſteritie. And becauſe all warres are manadged and maigntaigned chiefly by Armes and Money, it is cleere that the good or bad choyce of chiefe Commaunders & other chiefe Officers for Militare Accompts, is the verie chiefeſt cauſe of the good or bad ſucceſſe of anie warres: For as by the Good the Forces are maintaigned ſtrong, well armed, trained, gouerned, conducted, paid and contented: ſo by the Bad demeanour of theſe Officers, the Princes Treaſure (being the verie ſinewes of the warres) may bee vnduely waſted, the Bands neither compleate, well armed, nor trained, the valiant ſouldiers for want of their due wages, diſcouraged, or ſtarued, Honeſt creditors and alied friends for want of due paiments diſcontented, & the Princes moſt honourable pay ſlaundered and diſhonoured. The conſideration of theſe important cauſes (impreſſed deepely into my conceipt, not by ſuperficiall Contemplations, but by actuall Experience) hath prouoked or rather enforced me (in diſcharge of my duetie to God almightie and her Maieſtie my moſt gracious Soueraigne Ladie and Miſtreſſe, vpon the new Addition of my Stratiaticos) to enlarge it with theſe Additions: That all Commanders and ſuch other Officers Militarie (ſeeing before their eyes proponed the Good & Bad, Light and Darcknes, Heauen and Hell, & knowing that thereby the world alſo cannot but ſee which courſe they holde) may reſolue to leaue the lucrous, baſe, wicked, and diſhonorable path, whoſe ende will bee confuſion, ſhame, & endleſſe torments in Hell, and to chooſe the right waie of Vertue that leadeth vnto true honourable Fame, & finallie ſhall be crowned with immortall ioyes in Heauen.

¶ A Conference of a good and bad *Muſtermaſter, with his inferior Com-*missaries of Muſters: by the fruits to diſcerne the Tree.

The Good.	The Bad.
THis officer will not willingly ſerue but with ſuch a competent and conuenient entertaignment both for himſelfe and his inferior Commiſſaries, Clarks and Subſtitutes, as hee neede not take Bribe or Beneuolence: or depend on the fauour of anie but the *Generall* alone.	*THis officer careth not howe little Enterteignment certaine hee haue for himſelfe, or his Subſtitutes: preſuming hee can make what gaine hee liſt of his Office: and make ſuch frends thereby alſo, as may beare him out in his lewdneſſe, &c.*
This officer will be in his Expences temperate, rather ſparing than waſting: that he be not by want enforced to ſtraigne his conſcience & deceaue his Prince.	*Such an officer hauing ſo good meanes to get immeaſurablie by playing the good fellow: will ſpend infinitlie, eſpecially in keeping company with ſuch as muſt ioyne with him in deceiuing the* Prince.
This officer ſeeketh by all means to cauſe the *Generall* to eſtabliſh lawes and ordinances wherby orderly entrances & diſcharges of ſouldiers may be regiſtred: and therby neyther hir *Maieſtie*, nor the Souldier abuſed.	*Such an officer can no more abide lawes and ordinances in Muſters, than lucrous Captaine: ſaying, it barreth the officer of his diſcretion, whereby the office ought to bee directed, and braue men gratified.*
This officer deliuereth theſe lawes to his inferior Commiſſaries with other ſtraight particular Inſtructions, and calleth them to accompt, howe they haue diſcharged their duties.	*Such an Officer likes none of theſe ſtrict courſes, ſaying, among Martiall men a man muſt play the good fellow & not to be too pinching of a Princes purſe.*

This officer will not set down anie pennie checque certaine vpon anie Captaine or band, without apparant proofe: & for such as cannot be decided, will respite them to farther triall: that neither Prince, Captaine, nor Souldier be defrauded or iniured.

Such an officer calleth this examination, nice curiositie, and saieth, so there be some checkes for fashion sake, it is no matter, make them little enough, that the Captaines bee not angrie and all is well: One good Fellowe must pleasure another.

This officer, if any such doubt arise in the checks as hee cannot determine by the lawes established, he either desireth the Resolution of the Generall, or that it may bee determined by a Councell at Warre, or some Commissioners, especiallie authorized to assist him.

Such an Officer saieth, it is great Follie to loose that Prerogatiue of his Office, to resolue these doubtes as hee sees cause, and to subiect himselfe to Commissioners, that is Master of the Musters himselfe.

This officer (if the Captaines shew anie reasonable cause to bee relieued out of the checks, either in respect of the losse of horse, or Armor in seruice or such like that deserueth consideration, he presenteth his proofes thereof, together with his check to the Lord *Generall*, desiring his Lordshippe to haue honorable consideration therof.

Such an Officer will bee Chancellor himselfe, and neuer trouble the Lord Generall *with these matters, who hath matters of greater importance to thinke vpon: Saying, Princes purses must not be spared, and braue men must bee rewarded, and Officers must get Loue and Honour by dealing bountifullie.*

This Officer (if hee see ouermuch familiaritie betweene any of his Cõmissaries & the Captaines) is presentlie iealous of them, and calleth them to accompt: And if hee find them conniuent or faultie, presentlie displaceth them: or if hee find no other proofe but vehement suspicion, yet remooueth thẽ to an other Garrisõ, & placeth such others in their roomes as may sift and examine their former behauiour.

Such an Officer likes none of these seuere Iealosies, but liketh well such Officers as be plausible and gratefull to the Captaines: knowing the Captaines be liberall, and will not be vngratefull to him, seeing he windes & hath good meanes to requite their courtesie ten Folde out of the Princes purse.

This Officer as hee would not (to gaine a Million) doo any Captaine a penie wrong. So will hee not for the fauour of the greatest persons in the

Such an Officer being of another mould will none of these melancholie courses, he will pleasure his Friends and crosse his Enemies, and make

Armie

Armie, or his nereſt kinne or Friends ſtraigne his conſcience to abuſe his Prince one pennie: and therefore preſents the Checque trulie, as hee findes it: and leaues all fauour to be ſhewed by the Lord Generall onelie.

them knowe he is an Officer can pleaſe or diſpleaſe them. But diſpleaſe hee will not for all that, and for his excuſe alledgeth, that Princes Cookes may giue a good fellowe a peece of beefe, and the Butlers or Cellarers a cup of of Wine or Beere, and that hee will ſhew his friends a caſt of his Office.

This officer procureth orders alſo to bee eſtabliſhed for training of the Souldiers, and himſelfe requireth the Captaines to performe them: and to encourage men to doe well, will not ſpare out of his owne purſe to giue rewardes to ſuch ſhot as by proofe he findes the beſt marck men.

Such an Officer will none of this, ſaying, it is but a turmoyling of Captaines and Souldiers, and intruding on the Captaines Offices to offend and diſcontent them, and that braue men ſhould not be controlled, or the imperfection of their Souldiers diſcouered by ſuch open exerciſes, and that ſuch expences are fooliſh, and make more Enemies than Friends.

This officer will not accept pennie nor pennie worth of anie Captaine or Souldier more than the Fee due to his office, and that not as a beneuolence ſecretely, but as his due openlie.

Such an Officer will accept anie thing, Money or ware, ſo it come ſecretlie: and like a good fellowe will (on the Princes purſe) requite it ten folde, as eaſely he may doo, and none but his Fellowe Theeues able to accuſe him.

This officer repoſing himſelfe only on God and his cleare conſcience, laboreth not to make other frendes but his Prince and Generall: And for the Generall himſelfe, will not ſtraigne his conſcience anie way, though hee bee ſure of manie Enemies and ſmall backing: & euen to his Prince for faithfull ſeruice ſtore of falſe backbitings: yea the *Swanne* muſt be made a *Crowe*, and the *Faulcon* a *Buſſard*.

Such an Officer will not only for the Generall, *but for anie other perſon of authoritie ſtraine his Conſcience any way, and to all other Captaines alſo ſo kinde and liberall of her* Maieſties *purſe as he is generallie extolled for a braue man, an honorable Officer, an honorable minde: yea, and his Prince alſo whome he deceaueth horribly ſhall be perſwaded the* Dawe *is an* Eagle, *and the* Cuckoe *a* Nightingale.

This officer, as hee is thus preciſe himſelfe, as neither to giue pennie for ſuch an Office, nor to receiue bribe or beneuolence more then dewe fees: So maketh he a matter of conſcience

Such an Officer hath no ſuch melancholie conceipt, but as hee will take buſſelie, ſo will hee giue frankelie to them can beare him out: and ſuch a one as Captaines, Collonells, great Of-

whileſt he carrieth ſuch office to giue to anie of his honorable frendes anie preſent: leaſt they or others ſhoulde haue cauſe to ſuſpect he did it to bee borne out in anie lewde action.

ficers, and all ſhall extoll, how ſhall his Prince but like of to, conſidering the more hee robbes her, the more Friends hee makes, and the more hee ſhall bee praiſed. So, as if there were no God, the honeſt were in deede to be begged for a right naturall Foole.

¶ A Briefe conference of two Pagadores, or *Militarie Threaſurers.*

The one a man iuſt and honeſt, content with his ſtipend: yealding both to the Prince *and ſubiect their dewe.*

The other vnduely exacting, & by deuice meaning to abuſe (if it bee not preuented) may defraud both *Prince*, ſubiect, ſoldier, & allies of there due.

For diſtinction ſake expreſſed by the ſeuerall names of *Threaſurer*, and *Pagadore.*

The Good.

THis Treaſurer liueth modeſtlie, rather ſparing then ſpending: that hee may haue no neede to abuſe his *Soueraigne*, nor cruſh the Souldier.

This Treaſurer will deſire yearely, yea quarterlie to make his accompts that all may be cleare and liquide.

The bad.

His Pagadore *liueth prodigallie, ſpending in Vanities immeaſurablie: ſo that it is not poſſible for him to continue, Vnleſſe hee abuſe both Soueraigne, Subiects, and allies exceedingly.*

Such a Padagore *ſhũneth by al means clere accompts, & would neither quarterly nor yearely, nor once in 7. yeare make an orderly liquid account if he could by friends or deuice delay it.*

This

This Treaſurer will not by ani meanes accept from anie Captaine, Victualler, Marchant or Souldier, Bill or Acquittance for a peny more than he truely paies him ready coyne.

Such a Pagadore *will haue both warrat & acquittance for the whole, and then giue a priuate atteſtation of the due to the Captaine, cleve about all defalcations.*

This Treaſurer wil haue a ſpeciall care to ſee the Souldiers firſt paid their dewe.

Such a Pagadore *cares not whether any Souldier be paide or no ſo he haue the Captaines warrant and acquittance to accompt with an abſent Auditor, &c.*

This Treaſurer when hee reccons with a captaine, and defaulkes billes of debt to Victuallers, Armorers, and other creditors, hee will not deſire anie acquaintance of the Captaine for thoſe defalcations, vnleſſe he haue in deede paid them: and then will hee alſo deliuer vp to the Captaine thoſe bills, when hee taketh the Captaines generall Acquittance.

Such a Pagadore *(after hee hath defaulked all bills and debts he can get or heare of, for Victuallers, Mercers, Taylors, Merchants, &c.) taketh the Captaines quittance for al, & giueth him an atteſtation of the ſurpluſage dew to him (if any bee) and ſo recconeth with the abſent Auditor of the preſſe with his warrant and quittance, as though all theſe defalcations were truelie paid, when the moſt part in trueth are vnpaide, and hereby the Princes pay iniuriouſly ſlandered, when this* Pagadore *hath it in his hands allowed him.*

This Treaſurer wil alwaies deliuer vnto the Captaine a bill, particularlie expreſſing how much hee hath paid in readie monie to the Captaine, and how much in defalcations: expreſſing euerie defalcation, for what, to whom, and how much particulatlie, taking a double therof ſigned by the Captaine, and this particular double will he leaue in the Auditors handes to be examined.

Such a Pagadore *will hardlie deliuer vnder his hand to the Captaine any ſuch particular of his defalcations, nor yet by any meanes any coppie or double thereof to the Auditor to be examined: but rather ſeeke all deuices to huddle vp thinges in confuſion: knowing, it is good Fiſhing in pudled water, according to the olde Prouerb.*

This Treaſurer hauing deliuered his Accompts in this plaine particuler manner to the Auditor, deſires him to let all men ſee his Accompt that demaund it, and to giue copies

Such a Pagadore *hauing reckoned with the warrant and Captaines acquittance in groſſe, without expreſſing any particularities of the defalcations, deſireth the* Aaditor *to lock*

of

of anie part thereof to anie man that will pay the Auditors clarkes for it: wilfully it may be sifted whether any defalcation contained in the sōme of the Captaines acquittance, bee not iust by him truely paid: For *Veritas nonquærit Angulos.*

them safely vp in a Cheſt with two locks and keyes, whereof the Treaſurer to haue one. So as theſe accomptes that all men ought to ſee) muſt bee kept, tanquam Eleuſina Myſteria: *& no part be ſeene of any grieued perſon: till he can get the Treaſurer and Auditor together: a matter as eaſie as to catch an hare with a Taber.*

This Treaſurer deales thus plainly to auoyd all ſuſpition of fraud, meaning neither to abuſe the Prince nor Subiect of a pennie, and to keepe himſelfe not onely voide of Faulte, but of all ſuſpition of Fraude and deceipt.

Such a Pagadore *having many thouſands of the Princes Treaſure in his hands of theſe defalcations pretended to bee payd by theſe former ſubtilties (keeping all in darke confuſion) careth not what the world thinketh of him, or how they exclaime or ſlander the Queenes pay, nor how many periſh for want of that hee hath in his hands of theirs.*

This Treaſurer dealing iuſtly in the ſight of God, laboureth not to get him manie frends or fauorers, by Banqueting, Preſents, or otherwiſe: repoſing his truſt in God, and his iuſt dealing.

Such a Pagadore *lendeth all his witt to vſe al meanes to make friends knowing that Iuſtice and right is his Confuſion, and therefore* Per fas atque nefas *hunteth for Fauour to keep him from accompts liquid, and to keepe all in darkenes by delayes:* Qui malè agit, odit lucem.

This Treaſurer if he haue not treaſure ſufficient to pay all defalcations, ſetteth down plainſie to the Auditor which are paid, & which are vnpaid: holding it a burden of conſcience that anie man ſhould die vnpaid by his default.

Such a Pagadore *cares not how many creditors dye after hee hath made his obſcure defalcations: knowing that by their death it is clerely gained to himſelfe: Neither forcing how the Princes honorable pay bee ſlandered, nor how many die for want of their dew by him waſted prodigallie.*

This Treaſurer thinketh it a matter of conſcience while he is Officer, to make anie preſentes, euen to his honorable good frendes: leaſt either they or others ſhould think he did it to be fauored in ſome vniuſt actions

Such a Pagadore *hath no ſuch melancholie conceipt, but will giue or lend luſtely to any that will take, if he ſee any meanes how they may protract his accompt, yea to ſuch honorable perſons as hee knoweth will not bee in-*

This

duced to farder his corruptions if they see thē, yet wil he offer presents, knowing Salomons *wise saying, that* Dona cœcant oculos etiam Prudentum & Iustorum.

This Treasurer desireth nothing more than to haue a Muster-master and Auditor resident in the Armie: to assist him in examinatiō of frauds, and to do both the Prince and Souldier right: knowing the more they sift his dooings, the more for his credite and reputation.

Such a Pagadore *can by no meanes endure an Auditor or Mustermaster in the Armie, but onely such inferior Cōmissaries as dare not offend him or looke into his dooings. And in this he will make all his Friends and spare no deuise, &c. to haue these two Officers lifted out, that then hee may without comptrolement doo what hee list, the very eyes of the Armie being put out.*

This Treasurer will neuer desire the Captaines warrants, till he haue truelie paid not onelie defalcations, but also all due vpon the said warrants: contenting himselfe with his warrants for Impresta in the meane time.

Such a Pagadore *if hee cannot get the Captaines owne warrants, he will by deuice seeke to get coppies vnder the Lord* Generalls *or the Mustermasters hands which are good constants to recon with the Auditor. And if the Mustermaster will not consent vnto it hee wil become his secret dangerous Enemy and labor all meanes to remoue him.*

This Treasurer desires to haue the trueth of all matters plainly layde open to the Lords of the Counsaile, and is not iealous of any man that shall exhibite writings for the seruice vnto any of their Lordships.

Such a Pagadore *broyleth like* Enceladus *in* Aetna *when he heaues of any thing deliuered, till by some of his meanes hee can get the sight of it to countermine, &c. and perswadeth other Officers not to open matters plainely vnto their Honors, saying, it is no wisdome to make thē too cunning.*

This Treasurer contenteth himself with a competent pay., because his Expences be moderate, and needeth not giue or present extraordinarilie to purchase friends, and will not exact a Pennie vnduely from poore or ritch.

Such a Pagadore *cannot content himselfe with most honorable or excessiue entertainement, but exacteth hundreths and thousands, and not only from the rich, but euen from the most poore and needie of the Armie, besides al trafiks, chafferings, secret beneuolences, and other Engins to angle Money,* quorū non est Numerus.

¶ A Conference of two *Auditors*.

The one honeſt and Skilfull.

The other either corrupt or vnskilfull.

The Good.

The Bad.

THis Auditor will demaund competent Enterteignment for him ſelfe and Clarkes, that he neede not ſtraigne his conſcience.

THis Auditor forceth not much of Entertainment, knowing meanes inough by colluſion (if the Treaſurer bee bad alſo) to help himſelfe.

This Auditor will not take a penny of the Treaſurer, though he would giue it vtterly without condition,

Such an Auditor will not ſpare to take without condition and with condition too, ſo hee offer like a Chapesman.

This Auditor knowing hee that will no ill doe, muſt doe nothing that longs therto, will as much ſhun familiaritie with the Treaſurer, as all dutifull *Muſter-maſters* ought ouermuch familiaritie with Captains.

Such an Auditor will bee as great with a corrupt Treaſurer, as lewde Muſter maſters *or Commiſſaries will be with lucrous Captaines.*

This Auditor will haue as diligent an eye and eſpecially ouer the Treaſurer and his deputies, as a good Muſter Maiſter will haue ouer lucrous Captaines or Clarks of Bands.

Such an Officer will none of theſe Melancholie Conceipts, but make good cheare with the Treaſurer and play the good Fellowe.

This Auditor keeps perfect records of all billes of debt, for Munition, Powder, Armes, and other defalcations

Such an Auditor hath no regard to antiquitie, but to ſuch as M Treaſurer and he ſhall agree vpon: they muſt

tions, and will ſee the auncientſt billes firſt paide before latter, if they bee of one nature.

be firſt payde, and the reſt tarrie a ſecond market.

This Auditor being reſident in the Armie, vil haue an eare to the poore Souldiers greeues and ſee their debts paide before any billes of Captaines Creditors, for ſilkes, golde lace, or ſuch Vanities.

Such an Auditor wil not offend the Captaines, but knowing the ſweete of their liberalities will ſee ſuch bills firſt ſatisfied as beſt like thē, ſaying, he will not offend braue men for beggerlie knaues.

This Auditor (if a Treaſurer offer him *Bribes,* willnot onely reiect him but alſo looke the more narrowly to him in all his doings afterward, knowing thereby (onely) hee is a corrupt perſon.

Such an Auditor is of no ſuch ſoure or Melancholie humor, knowing the Poet *not without cauſe ſaieth:* Placatur donis Iupiter ipſe datis.

This Auditor hath a vigilant eye to the Princes profite and honor, to ſift all particuler defalcations whether they be paid indeede, or onely pretended to be paide by colluſion betweene the Treaſurer & Captains, or their Acomptant Clarks or Officers, that the Princes pay be not ſlandered and her Maieſtie diſhonoured by ſuch Corruptions.

Such an Officer lookes no farther but to warrant and quittance, not caring how the Princes pay bee diſhonored and ſlandered, ſo long as hee may haue apparance of matter to diſcharge himſelfe, knowing the more the Treaſurer by ſuch ſleights robbes the Prince and Souldiers, the greater his ſhare, for Manus manum fricat.

This Auditor will diligentlie ſee, that if anie defalcation bee made for anie perſon indebted to her Maieſtie, that the ſame bee ſtaied in the Treaſurers hand to her Maieſties vſe: and not cunningly conuaied to other vſes by Aſſignation or other like deuices to defraud hir Maieſtie.

Such an Auditer careth not how theſe defalcations be iugled by aſſignations or other practizes, to deceaue the Prince and enritch priuat perſons, ſo as the Treaſurer and he may haue their Fleeces of the ſpoyle: for theſe Officers muſt accord, or elſe when theeues fall out, true men come by their goods after the olde Prouerbe.

This Auditor will ſet down orders that the Treaſurer ſhall keepe in his accompt: viz. not to exhibite onelie the Captaines quittances in groſſe, but to ſhew particularlie, how much paid to the Captaines hands in mo-

Such an Auditor will none of theſe plaine courſes, ſaying they are Curioſities that will make him odious both to the Treaſurer and Captaines: And that if he ſhould deale thus plainely, Officers cannot gaine: Yea they

nie, howe much in victuall, howe much in munition: and ſo particularlie euerie other Defaulcation: wherefore, how much, to whom, & when paid, that it be not by colluſion double charged.

ſhall make ſo many Enemies, as the Prince (whom they beſt deſerue of) ſhall be made to diſlike them. In briefe that this honeſtie for want of Friends ſhall ſtarue, or die in the Hoſpitall.

This Auditor repoſing him ſelfe on God only & his good conſcience, laboreth not to make Friendes, but thinketh his honeſt courſes ſhall protect him againſt his lewd Enemies, & make him acceptable to his Prince.

Such an Auditor perhapps by the calamitie of other honeſt Officers (learning that Parum valet probitas quam nulla potentia fulcit*) will not offend rich or great perſons, but ioyne with them in plowing the golden ſoile, and ſee no more than that which hee knows ſhall not offend them.*

This Auditor (after hee perceiues that a Captain hath receiued ſomuch on his warrant, that there will not remaine more than may pay his ſouldiers, and due debts of his Band, for Armes, Pouder, apparrell, and ſuch neceſſaries as ought to be firſt paide) giues *Caueat* to the Treaſurer thereof, that he deliuer not the Captaine that money which ſhould paye the Souldier and theſe honeſt Creditors.

Such an Auditor knowing that theſe honeſt Creditors cannot giue the Treaſurer 10. pro 100. *to haue their Money, whereas other Creditors of ſilkes, Gold lace or ſuch like Vanities, or others (that by colluſion haue bills made of purpoſe to drawe out Money) may giue and will giue the Treaſurer* 30.40. *or* 50. pro 100. *he will not be curious to ſearch, which are true and honeſt debts, and which contrarie: but meeting with a bountifull Treaſurer will allow ſuch as he likes, and he hath reaſon to like thoſe beſt that offer moſt bountifullie.*

This Auditor will not ſet downe in his Accompt a penny paide either of money to the Captaines or defalcations to the Creditors then he ſeeeth in trueth, is indeede iſſued of her Maieſties Treaſure, albeit the Treaſurer perhaps ſhew his warrant & ac-

But ſuch an Auditor ſeeing by his honeſt plaine courſe neither Treaſurer nor Captaines can abuſe eyther Prince or Souldiers, that conſequently they neither can nor will deale bountifullie with him, he will none of this, but rather without more curioſity Se

quittance-

quitance to prooue he hath iſſued all, when he hath indeede Fortie thowſand poundes in his handes, & thereby cauſeth the Treaſurer to pay truely, and that Vitualers, Armorers, and honeſt Creditors ſhall not exclaime and ſlaunder the Princes honorable pay when the Treaſurer hath it in his owne handes to make his profite by it.

cundum vſum Sarum *make his reckonings with* Warranto *and* Acquittancia *and* pro forma: *to excuſe himſelfe, if his accompt ſhould bee ſifted: will not directly ſay it is all iſſued, but iſſuing and iſſued, or ſome parcell not iſſued: when perhaps that parcell wel examined may prooue many ten thouſand poundes.*

Finaly this Auditor being reſident in the Armie will hold ſo plaine and preciſe a courſe as hee will be able at all times to ſay how much treaſure is Iſſued indeed, and what remaines in the Treaſurers hands: which Creditors, &c. are paied indeede, & which are not paide: So that no Iugling can be vſed to defeate honeſt men of their due, but he will comptroll it, & by conference with the Muſter Maiſter alſo will ſee howe the Souldiers are ſatiſfied.

But ſuch an Auditor knowing ſuch an Officer is intollerable to a corrupt Pagadore, *&c. and that he hauing his Princes purſe to make frends: is likely to diſgrace or liſt out any honeſt Officers that ſhall not conſort with him. This Auditor ſayeth, I will leaue that thankleſſe honeſt courſe, and play the good Fellow, and fill my purſe with Crownes, when honeſt Officers may goe to the Hoſpitall for any Comfort or Countenance they ſhall receaue.*

CONTRARIA IVXTA SE POSITA MAGIS ELVCESCVNT.

Abuſes that may be practized to the *great diſhonour of the* Prince, *the de-*frauding of *Souldiers* and honeſt Credi-*tours: and vtter ruine and confuſion of an* Armie, where they ſhall be continued, *and not preuented.*

IT is a thing too wel knowen, that if al Captaines bills ſhuld be payd and defalked vpon the warrants for their bands, that both Souldiers many times ſhould vtterly loſe a great part of their wages dewe, & the honeſt Creditors alſo their debts, by reaſon of ſuch practiſes as enſue.

Inprimis, if any Captaines take vp Silkes, Gold lace, Iewels, or other like matters for their owne vſe amounting to treble their owne entertainement: This being defalked on the warrant for the band, muſt needs vniuſtly take from the poore Souldier part of his pay.

If a Captaine borrowe Money of the Treaſurer or any other for his owne priuat expences, or giue his bill to the Treaſurer to pay his loſſes in play, or charges in waſtfull houſes, the Bills muſt alwaies be made in one forme *viz.* Receaued of Maſter Treaſurer ſo much for the vſe of the Companie, &c. albeit the poore Companie may very

very well pleade not guiltie of any part therof. The ſame being defaulked by the Treaſurer on the warrant for the band, the poore Souldier is defeated, how trewly ſoeuer her Maieſtie paye.

Or when ſuch multitude of bills ſigned with any Captaines hand ſhall be brought vnto the Treaſurer, as the whole warrant, both Captaines pay, Officers pay, & Souldiers pay is not able to diſcharge, hee muſt needes chooſe ſome, and reiect others. In which choyſe if the Treaſurer be a man that regardes his owne benefit and the choyce left in him, he muſt needes reiect the honeſt Creditors, who vpon reaſonable prizes and ſmall gaine hauing ſerued the Companie, can offer little to haue their dew, and chooſe ſuch as by their exceſsiue gaynes vndewly made, may offer moſt, and ſo the lewde onelie gaine, and the honeſt Creditors vtterlie defeated.

Againe if any Captaine haue once taken vp and giuen his bills for more than his own wages, and the warrant of his whole Companie is able to paye, then to get notwithſtanding ſome more Money to bee defalked on the ſame warrant, he may with gaine be content to giue 60 *pro* 100. or giue his bill of debt for 100. to the Treaſurer, to be defaulked on his warrant to receaue 40, or leſſe. And this bill muſt be made as formably as any other, *viz.* for Armes or apparrell for the vſe of the Cõpanie, and perhappes dated before any of the reſt. And ſuch a one being able with gaine to giue 30. or 40. in the 100. to be paid his bill, may bee as likely to ſpeede as any of the honeſt Creditors, who perhappes are not able to giue 10. *pro* 100 without their loſſe, if the Treaſurer bee a man that will bee moued with gaine and haue no Commiſsioners to guide him.

But ſeeing the fraudes and practizes are infinite, whereby

whereby the honeſt Creditors and poore Souldiers may be defeated vtterlie of their due: & her *Maieſties* pay ſlaũdred & exclaimed on, (how iuſtlie ſoeuer her Highnes paie) if great diſcretion and Iuſtice bee not vſed in the examination and allowance of ſuters bills, with due triall, which were in deede to the vſe of the Companie, & which fraudulent, or to the Captaines or Treaſurers priuate gaine. They ought to be perſons of great ſincerity and vprightneſſe, that ſhould make choyce which bills ſhould be firſt allowed: and which reiected as the Captaines owne debt, and not defalcable on the Companie.

For, this cauſe I ſuppoſe in *Ireland* it hath beene accuſtomed, that the *Auditor* onely (who hath no handling of the Treaſure) was the ſetter downe of all defalcations, and the Treaſurer onely to pay according to his *Debentur*.

For ſurelie when in one pay, a man (in fauoring of vniuſt bills) may gaine ten thowſand pounds or more, & by dealing iuſtlie can hardly gaine the twentieth part, it is a great temptatiõ to miſdrawe an indifferent honeſt mind: eſpeciallie when the Raynes ſhall be left wholie in his owne hands. Or if the Treaſurer were neuer ſo honeſt a man, yet if his Officers vnder him be men that wil be tempted; he may eaſilie be ſeduced, euen to the Ruyne of an Armie.

The only meane therefore to redreſſe ſo great Incõueniences, & to rid both hir *Maieſtie* of exclamations, hir Officers of ſlaunders; and do both Captaines and ſoldiers right, is to appoynt ſome ſuch choyce honeſt Cõmiſsioners, as (hauing no fingring of the Treaſure) may ſit in ſome publique place, where openlie the Captaines and Creditors maie be heard; and alſo the complaints of the ſouldiers. And theſe Cõmiſſioners after they haue heard

heard, & alſo the complaint of the Souldiers: And theſe Commiſsioners after they haue heard what is alleaged on all parts, to ſet downe a publique order: which Bills ſhal be defaulked on the warrant for the Companie, and which ſet on the Captaines owne head as debts of his owne.

But there may be alſo another greater miſchiefe than al this, practized in the militarie accõptes of this time: whereby, albeit the beſt Auditors in England haue the examination of a Treaſurers accompt: her *Maieſtie* may be found ſtill in the *Treaſurers* debt, albeit he haue forty thowſand pounds of her *Maieſties* in his hands; & both Souldiers and Creditors defrauded, and her *Maieſties* pay ſlaundered by meanes of this courſe enſuing.

If the *Treaſurer* (when hee accompteth with anie Captaine vpon his warrant) firſt ſheweth him a note of all defaulcations, viz. Bills of impreſt, Victuallers bills, Armorers bills, defaulcations certified by the *States*, & other his Creditors or Souldiers bills: his owne new found hundred peny, &c. All this being defaulked, hee ſetteth down the ouerplus as a debt due to the Captaine. For this cleare debt, the Treaſurer giueth to the Captaine an Atteſtation, and for all the reſt of the warrant taketh an Acquittance from the Captaine togeather with his warrant. If vpon theſe conditions (as perhaps on theſe and none other the Captaines muſt take their accompts) ſee then what is likelie to enſue.

In this courſe, lightlie if the warrant bee for 2 thowſand pounds, the defalcations ſhall bee 1700. or more, and the cleare debt to the Captaine 300. or leſſe. Nowe when the Treaſurer ſhall bee called to his accompt, as is commonlie vſed before an Auditor of the preſſe in *England*: he produceth his warrant for 2000 pounds, and

this Quittance ſigned by the Captaine for 1700. pounds In this caſe, the preciſeſt abſent *Auditor* can allowe the Treaſurer no leſſe then the 1700. pounds vpon his Accompts, whereas commonly the greater part of all theſe defalcations are vnpaid. And in this manner in an Accompt of an hundred thouſand poundes, the Treaſurer may haue thirtie or fortie thouſand pounds in his owne hands, and yet the *Auditor* by *Warrant* and *Quittance* ſhall finde all payd, and perhappes ſome ſurpluſage from the *Queene* to the Treaſurer: So that this kinde of Accompt before a ſtrange *Auditor* by *Warrant* and *Quittance* is friuolous, and no poſsibilitie for the beſt *Auditor* in the World in that ſort to diſcouer Fraudes, or determine any certaintie, but both her *Maieſtie*, the Souldierie, the Creditors, & all may be extremely abuſed, and yet the Treaſurer and his Aſſociats goe clere away with an infinit gaine. And this kinde of Accompt before an abſent *Auditor per Warrantum & Acquittanciam* without farther examination is in deede as ridiculous, and as impoſsible thereby to diſcouer the abuſes of a *Pagadores* Accompt, & the wrongs done to Captaines, Souldiers, honeſt Creditors and chiefelie to the Prince, as particular *Muſters* (taken in ſeuerall Garriſons on ſeuerall daies) is able to diſcouer the *Fraudes* and deceipts vſually practized by Clarkes of Bandes or ſuch Captaines as valew, lucour aboue Honour, or Honeſty, & therefore this courſe enſuing for examination of Militarie Treaſurers Accompts fit to be eſtabliſhed.

The

The onely or beſt ſalue to recure *ſuch vlcerous ſoares.*

The onely meane therefore to Vnrip and diſcouer fraudes in ſuch accomptes of militarie Pagadores, *and to doo both Captaines, Souldiers and Creditors right, and to maintaine the honor of her* Maieſties *pay, and to prouide that her* Maieſties *Treaſure be not miſconueied and Vndewly waſted, is*

FIrſt not to ſuffer ſuch Militarie Money Officers to run on 1.2. or 3. yeares without Accompt, but quarterly or euery halfe yeare at the fartheſt to deliuer vp to the *Auditor* at Warres his Accompts perfited, as he will ſtand to it vpon his credit or diſcredit, to receaue triall, at his perrill.

Secondly, that for all ſuch ſummes of Money as hee aduerres payd, hee deliuer in together with the Captaines acquittance, a bill vnder his hand, particularly declaring how much was paide him in readie Money, and how much in defalcations for Armorers, Victuallers, or other Creditors bills, expreſsing particularly, to whom, when, and for what the ſame was paid, that it be not after cunningly double charged on her *Maieſtie*.

Thirdly, that theſe Accompts of Treaſurers may not ly ſo cloſed vp vnder locks, but that any mã (paying the *Auditors* Clarkes for their paines) may take coppies of any part: that if anie Souldier or Creditor finde himſelfe grieued, he may haue redreſſe by the *Auditor*, or a ground to complaine of his wrong.

Laſtly, that if any Accompt haue run on, many quarters or yeares without ſuch orderly ſetting downe of all *Defalcations* & publique notice *vt ſupra*: that it be the more

diligentlie ſifted by Officers of experience and ſkill, and that (after it is particularly ſet downe as the Treaſurer will ſtand to it) it may bee open to all men to view as aforeſaid: and ſo to remaine as long time as the Accompt hath been differred, before the Treaſurer at Warres haue his allowance or *Quietus eſt*.

By this means it wil come to paſſe that as her *Maieſties* pay hath been euer the moſt honorable of any King or State in *Chriſtendome*, and moſt honorable courſes alreadie taken, by her *Maieſtie* and her honorable Councell for the redreſſe of manie abuſes, whereby the poore Souldiers had receaued hard meaſure: So by ſuch dew and orderly Examination of Accompts, all perſons agreeued ſhall receaue due ſatiſfaction, or knowe where, and of whom to demannd their dueties, and neither exclaime on Officers without iuſt cauſe, nor yet her *Maieſties* moſt honorable pay ſlaundred and defamed, for that which perhappes may bee vndewly detaigned by ſuch inferiour perſons. And theſe Militarie Officers knowing that by theſe Tutchſtones their Actions ſhall plainelie appeare whether they be Golde or Braſſe, will happelie amend all that is amiſſe, and doo that hereafter ſhal moſt agree with their owne reputations, and the ſeruice of GOD, their Prince and Countrey. To which ende I haue publiſhed theſe briefe Collections.

¶ A Briefe conference of two Commaunders *of different properties* and Conditions.

The one honorablie trayned in Royall Warres, gouerned by right Martiall Diſcipline.

The other bred vp in diſorderly ciuil diſſentiõs among Freebooters, guided by lawleſſe indiſcretion.

The Good.

THIS Commaunder eſtabliſheth martiall lawes full of *Equitie*, and cauſeth them to be inuiolablie obſerued.

This Commaunder ſelecteth a Councell militarie, with whome to conferre before he reſolue of anie important enterprize.

This Commaunder will not take vpon him anie enterprize, but he wil bee aſſured to bee prouided of all thinges neceſſarie to performe it Honorablie.

This Commaunder will alſo ſee ſuch conuenient allowance of pay, as his ſouldiers may liue without ſpoyle of their freindes, or committing outradge.

The Bad.

His Commaunder ſcoffeth at true Martiall Diſcipline *and would haue all guided by his owne diſcretion, or rather lawleſſe in diſcretion.*

Such a Commander partely to couer his owne ignorance, and partly for vaine glory to haue all the praiſe himſelfe ſhunneth conference, and will giude or rather miſguide al by his own vaine phantaſie.

Such a Commander will vndertake any thing how abſurd ſoeuer, ſo hee may finger the Treaſure, let the ſucceſſe be what it will.

Such a Commander careth not what outrage, they cõmit, or how they cruſh their Friends, ſo as they craue no pay of him, but can liue by ſhifting otherwiſe, and ſuch he calleth braue men, as by right Martiall law ſhould be diſarmed vnder a gallowes.

The good.

This Cõmaunder imployeth his Princes Treasure in the true payment of his Captaines and Souldiers, and such prouisions onelie as may aduance the publique seruice.

This Commaunder will see at the first generall muster all his Captaines and Officers well chosen: & his souldiers well armed, and well appoynted.

This Commaunder establisheth such order in his Musters and Discipline in his Armie, as euery Captaine may be truelie paid and checqued according to their strength and weakenesse of his Band: and being truelie paid himselfe, shall accordingly truelie pay his Soudliers.

This Commaunder as he will see his Captaines haue their due, so will he heare the Souldiers greeues: being offered in supplication duetifullie, & without assembling in armes.

This Commaunder will by conference examine the abilitie of his Captaines, and Officers: to remooue such as he findes insufficient & place sufficient in their roome.

This Commaunder will see his Captaines and Officers of enerie particular Band, traine their Souldiers, and exercise them in the vse of euery kind of weapon.

The Bad.

Such a Commander wasteth it either in his own pomp & vaineglorp, or othe filthie and base pleasures, neither seeking to pay his Captaines nor caring whether they pay their Souldiers.

Such a Commander after he hath fingered the Treasure neither careth whether his Souldiers be armed or naked, and for Captaines and Officers taketh such as will serue for least impreſt.

Such a Cõmannder cannot endure such orders in Musters as are agreeable to true Martiall Discipline, *but will haue all ordered by his own indiscretion: and if his Captaines will be contributorie, they shall be paid* Poule Ioule, *without difference or check, and for their Souldiers, let them vse them as they list.*

Such a Commander (if a few poore Souldiers by supplication without Armes complaine they cannot receaue their pay,) will haue it a Mutenie *and hang some of them* in terrorem, *for the Captaines cannot contribute largely to him, vnlesse they may crush the poore Souldier* Impune.

Such a Cõmaunder reiects none but such as will not be contributory, or importunes him for their Souldiers pay and cannot liue by crushing of their Friends and poore Souldiers as his other braue men will.

Such a Commander being both ignorant himselfe and hauing manie like Captaines, will none of this: alleadging it is a needles tyring of the poore Souldiers, and scoffe at them that doo it.

This

This Commaunder being in the field, will alſo before hee ſee the Enemies: cauſe his Souldiers to bee imbattailed in ſeuerall ſortes: and teach them howe to anſwere euerie charge of horſe or other attempt of their Enemies. And this will he often doe, as well to traine hts Soultdiers: as to knowe the ſufficiencie of his ſuperior Officers.

Such a Commander wanting iudgement to doo theſe things himſelfe, doth not onely ſeldome or neuer vſe any of theſe right Martiall exerciſes, but to couer the diſabilitie of himſelfe and his followers will ieaſt and ſcoffe at them that doo it, and call them Saint Georges *Knights, or ſuch like.*

This Commaunder knoweth hee ſhoulde bee rather a Butcher then a Commaunder: if hee ſhould bring his Souldiers to fight before they are thus trained and exerciſed.

Such a Commander will not be aſhamed to maintaine this butcherlie opinion, that men are beſt trained in blood, and that other Traynings are ridiculous.

This Commaunder if his charge be of Footemen, will bee aſhamed to bee mounted at anie time on a horſe of force, or anie other than ſome litle nagge onelie for his eaſe.

Such a Commander will be mounted on ſuch a horſe, as he may out run the whole Field, and ſcape when hee liſt.

This commaunder will neuer ſee his *Fantry* in perrill, but if he happen to be mounted, he will diſmount: & if hee haue neuer ſo principall horſes offered him to ſaue himſelfe, will rather chooſe to die or take their *Fortune*, than by horſe or flight to ſaue himſelfe: as the famous *Romaine Generales* in old time, and *Mounſier La Noüe* in our age hath done.

Such a Commander ſo ſoone as hee ſeeth *his* Fantery *preſſed by the Enemie, if hee bee not alreadie mounted on a choyce horſe, hath one alwaies readie to run away with ſuch other folowers like himſelfe when his Valiant men are cut in pieces, and then muſt theſe* Runawaies *by letters or Pamphlets magnifie him, and by deuice diſgrace theſe Valiant men that reſolutely dyed in the place.*

This Commaunder when he deuiſeth anie Enterprize vpon the Enemie, doth it onelie vpon matters of importance likelie to be effected: and for the benefite publique and reliefe of his Souldiers.

Such a Commander careth not how vnſeazible *the enterprize bee, ſo by pretence thereof he may get Money into his hands, regarding onely his owne profit, neither caring for the publique nor reliefe of the Souldiers.*

This Commaunder if vpon anie ſuch enterprize hee receaue Treaſure,

Such a Commander when he hath receaued their pay, will not pay them

he

The good.	The Bad.
he imployeth it presentlie on the well arming and furnishing of his Souldiers and supplying of their needefull wants, that they may assayle their Enemies couragiouslie, and attayne *Victorie.*	*a penie till the seruice be past, no not so much as to supply them with armes and needefull furniture, knowing, the more of them are killed the more his gaine, who hauing their Money in his hand, meanes, according to such corrupt Freebooters lawes,* To bee himselfe their Heire or Exequutor.
This Commaunder seeketh by all meanes to spare his Princes purse and publique Treasure: and not to haue it wasted vnduelie, but imployed in matters of importance: and for reliefe of the Souldiers that truely serue, and deserue.	*Such a Commander careth not how his Princes purse be picked, so hee may haue his share of the spoyle: and so that be large inough he careth neither for Captaine nor Souldier.*
This Commander winneth the loue of his Captaines and Souldiers by dooing Iustice to both, by procuring their due to both, and seeing the one doo right to the other.	*Such a Commander currieth Fauour with the Captaines onely of his owne humor, by suffering them to crush and oppresse the Souldiers: and on his Souldiers hee taketh no more compassion then on Doggs: his gaine growing chiefelie by their starueing or killing.*
This Commander vsing Iustice and right *Martiall Discipline*, God commonly prospereth and blesseth his Enterprizes.	*Such a Commander vsing the contrarie, God seldome or neuer blesseth him with any good successe: but with shame and confusion, if by right Martiall lawe he might receaue his due.*
This Commaunder (to gaine a world of Treasure to himself) would not consent to the defrauding of his valient Souldiers of their due: or to the crushing or oppressing of freinds or ductifull Subiects.	*Such a Commander (to currie Fauour with the great ones, and gaine Treasure to maintaine his owne Vitious prodegalitie) careth not how the poore Souldiers are abused, or the Friends, allies, and dutifull Subiects oppressed.*
This Commaunder (by his iustice and good Discipline) winneth the hearts euen of Enemies, and encreaseth his Princes Dominions and Ter-	*Such a Commander by his wicked life and bad Discipline alienateth the hearts euen of Friends and allies, and looseth by peecemeale great Prouin-* ritories.

victories.

ces where he maintaineth his Vitious Prodegalitie vpon their robbery and spoyle.

This Cõmaunder seeketh no vnhoneſt or indirect meanes by falſe ſurmiſes or lewd practizes to diſgrace othermen of value to aduaunce himſelfe: but repoſing himſelfe on true vertue, enuieth not the good ſeruice of other.

Such a Commander (being voide of all true Vertue) enuieth the same extreamelie in others, and engineth by all falſe and vnhoneſt practizes (by diſgrace of his betters) to purchaſe a vaine fame among the ignorant that are blind, and not able to iudge aright of Cuilors.

This Commander being ſufficiently honored by his owne true vertue and valew, contenteth himſelfe therewith, and laboreth not by any indirect meanes to haue vntrue fames bruted of him.

This other cõmitting manie ſhamefull and reprochfull errors (deſeruing in right Martiall Diſcipline ignominious diſarming, by running away when his Souldiers are butchered, or ſtaruing them for want of their pay by him receiued, &c) is neuertheleſſe ſo farre paſt ſhame by bad education in corrupt Diſcipline, that he will triumph of theſe ſhames: & cauſe Pamphlets to bee publiſhed of his praiſe, & the blind multitude (manie times miſled by theſe toyes) extoll the Cuckowe *for a* Faulcon, *and make an* Eagle *of the* Dawe.

Where theſe kinde of Commanders are choſen and honored, God will bleſſe, encreaſe and amplifie the State and confound their Enemies, and the glorie of that ſtate ſhall not bee blemiſhed but protected by the omnipotent hand of the Lord of *Hoſtes.*

Where theſe kind of Commaunders *are ſuffered and not corrected or ſuppreſſed, the iuſt Iudgemẽts of God are to bee feared: who neuer permitteth ſuch* Iniquity *to floriſh at any time but for their greater* Ruyne.

This briefe Conference of Good and Bad Officers and Commanders may ſerue as a Glaſſe or Toutchſtone for men to beholde

and trie one ſort from another, and by the Fruits to Iudge aright of the Trees, eſpecial-lie for chief Magiſtrates to diſcerne by ſound reaſon aright, and not to be abuſed by vaine Fame and vncertaine Opinion in a matter of ſo great Conſequence: And if anie guiltie Conſcience wintch at this, it is not I but them-ſelues bewray their Galled Backes.

TO Conclude, leaſt my meaning ſhould maliciouſly bee miſcon-ſtrued, I muſt proteſt, that albeit I haue in manie parts of this trea-tize ſeuerely inueighed againſt manie abuſes and Corruptions bred & foſtered in ciuill diſſenti-ons, yet is it farre from my mea-ning to inueigh generally againſt all ſuch Captaines, Commanders, or *Generalls* as haue borne charge or ſway in theſe Inteſtine Warres, for I haue my ſelfe knowne many Captaines and great Commanders in thoſe Warres that highlie eſteemed of right Martiall Diſcipline, & by experience feelinglye, ſeeing the In-conueniences, that enſue by ſuch Corruptions, haue the more deteſted and abhorred them. As likewiſe that fa-mous *Prince* of *Orenge* (I am able to ſay of mine owne know-

knowledge,and from his owne mouth)mutch disliked many of those horrible disorders, which neuertheleſſe neceſsitie for want of meanes to pay, inforced him to tollerate in ſome of his *Mercenarie Commanders*. The like appeareth by the Diſcipline before publiſhed by that worthie *Prince* of *Coundy*, and right Militare *Admirall Shattilion*, who notwithſtanding were enforced to ſuffer many of theſe things themſelues condemned. But my meaning indeed is with Reproach to noate all ſuch men of Warre as contemning all ancient and true *Martiall Diſcipline*,either ignorantly thinke all they ſee done in theſe Warres fit to be imitated, or Rauenouſly for their owne gaine and particular profit will not onely themſelues be the Exequutioners of ſo foule Abuſes, but ſhameleſly maintaigne ſuch bad new Cuſtomes to bee good and Laudible : and knowing their ſkill vtterlie vnable with any Eloquence or Cunning to defend ſo impious and bad a cauſe,wil either by Mutinous factions violentlie endeuour to oppreſſe, or by falſe ſlaunders Malitiouſlie ſeeke to diſgrace ſuch perſons as they know able to diſcerne and willing to make their *Prince* and Countrey trewlie vnderſtand, ſee, and abhorre ſuch horrible Abuſes. Neither doo I hate the perſon of anie one or other Militare man aliue for any reſpect whatſoeuer,but onlie ſuch Extortions and Corruptions in ſome of them,as I ſhould likewiſe deteſt (if I ſhould finde the ſame) in mine owne Brother. And therefore no particular or priuate reſpect,but onely the great Inconuenience I doubt may enſue, and the faithfull zeale, loue,and dewtie I beare to my moſt gracious *Soueraigne* and *Countrey*, hath moued and induced mee (aſwell while I bare Office of Comptrolemẽt in Mili-

tate cauſes as now alſo, being happelie diſburdened of that thankeleſſe place) ſo plainelie to declare a truth, not fearing to incurre or irritate the mallice of ſo viperous and peſtilent ſlaunderous Enemies, as both myſelfe haue, and all other honeſt Officers ſhall finde ſuch to bee, as haue vowed their ſeruice to *Madam Picorea* ſo liuelie with deteſtation painted out in her cullours by that worthie and famous Souldier *Mounſieur de La Noüe.*

MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRAEVALET.

FINIS.